

The University of Chicago

AN ETYMOLOGICAL VOCABULARY
TO *THE CELESTINA*, A-E

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
1938

By
LAWRENCE SANFORD POSTON, JR.

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PREFACE

The articles in this volume, though merely extracts from a considerably longer work, may be taken as representative of the technique followed in that work. The fuller study is complete for all words in the Celestina from a through e, exclusive of proper names. The text used is the edition of Burgos, 1499, reprinted by R. Foulché-Delbosc in 1902, Bibliotheca Hispanica series, Vol. XII. Except for his emendations, I have followed this text religiously. For articles illustrating my treatment of his emendations, v. de-lló, denostar, emplumar, and escropuloso. The following remarks are restricted to an explanation of such phenomena as occur in these excerpts.

Except for verbs and nouns, parts of speech have been regularly indicated: e.g., agro adj. Verbs have been indicated as transitive or intransitive: e.g., abollar tr. Nouns are indicated for gender (e.g., angel m.) unless they have the characteristic masculine or feminine terminations -o and -a, respectively. Furthermore, if the gender is not apparent from this text alone, no indication is given: v. agraz.

The etymologies of words beginning with a- have been studied in full. The writer's method has been to gather the available evidence, to sift and clarify it, and, where possible, to draw definite conclusions. Even though he may have thrown no new light upon a particular word, he feels that even a restatement of the prevailing theories, together with a generous bibliography, will not be without value for the Spanish etymological dictionary of the future. Occasionally, he has suggested a solution of his own: see, for example, agraz, alacran, angel, apretar, arueja.

In the B-E section, it was necessary to state the etymologies very briefly, in order to complete a recognizable portion of the lexicographical work, so that, quite often, I have preferred to put a simple query [?] rather than to commit myself to a dubious etymon. Even here, however, I have occasionally made some contribution: v., for example, carilla.

In the definitions, besides attempting to indicate the exact meaning of a word in a particular place, I have also noted

those cases in which words appear only in certain contexts or forms. Thus, it is of interest to note that agro, in both examples in the text, modifies palabras. Often, I have indicated the object of a transitive verb (e.g., derrocar to tear down [la casa]); also, the subject of a verb (e.g., aguzar reflex. to become sharpened [said of vista]). I have regularly noted nouns that appear only in the plural: cf. arueja. Where a word is used only once, such information may not seem particularly important. At any rate, I draw no conclusions, but at least I have considered such phenomena worthy of note.

No references have been considered necessary for the definitions when the meaning is so well established that it may be found in the current edition of the Academy Dictionary. Often, however, it has been necessary to go further afield, and in such cases the source of the information is given. The B-E examples in these extracts have been chosen especially to illustrate this point.

An attempt has been made to note all locutions, as well as all phrases or expressions presenting difficulty in translation. These are listed in alphabetical order: cf. acabar.

In closing, I am glad to express my thanks to Dr. E. M. K. Gelling, Professor of Pharmacology, for permission to use his private library; to professors Carl Darling Buck and Charles Henry Beeson, for a few points of Latinity; and to Mr. S. N. Treviño, for ever-willing assistance on several points of phonetics, as well as for helpful suggestions on a few difficult passages. But above all, to Professor Hayward Keniston, under whose patient guidance this work was done, and who has given unstintingly of his scholarship, time, and personality, I am so thoroughly indebted that I can hardly dissociate ideas that are his and ideas that are mine. At any rate, the errors are all mine.

L. S. P., Jr.

abollar tr. [< a + bollo, < b ũ l l a, 'bubble, boss,' etc., with change of gender: Acad. García de Diego 30, however, doubts this origin of the vb.: "El cast. abollar ha sido referido sin vacilación a bollo, aun cuando abollar no significa 'hacer bultos o bollos,' sino 'dejar una señal o depresión en una cosa rígida'; al menos es muy inseguro que en los varios significados nazca de b u l l a." This objection seems to me to be idle. Surely the transfer of meaning from 'boss' to 'dent' is not shocking, even in "una cosa rígida." What is a boss if not the other side of a dent?] to dent 147.27

abrigar tr. [< a p r ī c ā r e, 'to warm in the sun': hence, 'to protect from cold or wind,' and finally '*to protect' in a general sense: REW 560. This etymology is now generally accepted, but it was the bone of much contention in the past, because of (1) the peculiar semantic development, and (2) the preservation of -br- in the Fr. forms abri, abriter, etc. On account of the semantic difficulty, Diez 3 rejected this derivation, stating ruggedly: "Umsonst hat man sich bemüht, dem lat. apricus den sinn des rom. wortes zu entlocken: was die sonne bescheint, ist und bleibt unbedeckt." He substituted a Germanic etymon: *bi-rīhan, 'decken,' etc. But Bugge, Rom. IV (1875), 348, by adducing several Lat. exx. (e.g., Gl. of Erfurt: apricum, locus temperatus sine vento), and by calling attention to an analogous change in the Scandinavian languages, "où hlyr, tempéré, hlyja, fovere, mettre à l'abri, appartient au radical hlé, abri," established rather clearly the derivation < apricare. Paris, Rom. XXVIII (1899), 433-35, accepted this etymology for Sp.-Pg.-Prov. abrigar, but not for Fr. abrier, which should be *avrier. Schwan-Behrens, 109R, states that abri and abrier "sont ramenés avec raison à apricu, apricare," but that the phonology is yet to be explained. Scheler, Anhang 705, accepted Bugge's conclusions as definitive, and REW says that Paris' doubts are unfounded. For further discussion, especially of the problem as it relates to Fr., one may consult Horning, ZRPh XXI

(1897), 449; Havet, Rom. XXIX (1900), 115; Brandin, Rom. XXXV (1906), 293-95; Gamillscheg, s.v. abri.] to protect 26.9

acabar [< a + cabo]: intr. to end, come to an end, finish 55.31/80.32/111.28; die 157.21/173.13; turn out (lo que puede tristemente a.) 104.31; tr. to put an end to, finish, finish off 75.27/107.5/151.31/158d; a. con vno que + subjunct. to get one to, prevail upon one to 89.14; a. de + inf. = perfective aspect (in both exx., however, a. probably preserves some degree of its literal force) 2.11/139.17; -lo consigo to do it 159.15

agraz [Immediate provenience uncertain. The word may be merely a derivative of agro. Hanssen, 307, compares the form with such literary words as fugaz, rapaz, and feroz. One must point out, however, that these words are adjs. Richardson derives a. < acrem + suffix. My own inclination is to consider the word as a loan < Prov.-Cat. agras: cf. OF aigras. The etymon of these words would be *acracŭ, < acre: Thomas, Mél. 8; REW 92. See also Diez 9.] sour grape 18.28; en a. prematurely 42.2

agro adj. [< a c r u, REW 92. The * should be removed: App. Fr. has acre non acrum.] bitter, unpleasant, harsh (only with pala-bras) 37.27/71.6

agujero [< aguja: originally, perhaps, 'eye of the needle,' and subsequently 'perforation' or 'hole' of any kind] hole 72.18; meter por los -s, 9.8, evidently means 'to slip into one's rooms': cf. Zerolo 6: Lugar habitable ... muy estrecho y mezquino; and 7: Por extensión y familiarmente se dice del sitio en que uno vive. Is there also authority for Mabbe's windows?

aguzar tr. [< *a c ū t ŷ ā r e < acūtus: REW 134 has no *, but I am unable to find this form. Ronjat's remark, RLR LXII (1924), 435, that acutiare "est assuré par acūtŷator" does not help us: the * should be used whenever the word is not attested. Naturally, a word should not be made up unless there is adequate reason to believe that it must have existed! See also MF Gr, p. 4 and n.] to prick up (orejas) 72.3; reflex. to become sharpened (said of vista) 3.32

alacran [< Ar. عقراَب (°aqrâb), DE 53, Eg. 82, Steiger 281, REW 569. Apparently, no one has explained -b > -n. May it not be due to the analogy of escorpión?] scorpion 24.4

almorzar intr. [Since most discussions of this word and the corresponding noun, almuerzo, revolve about the latter, I shall, for the sake of convenience, derive the vb. < the noun, and take up the etymology of almuerzo. Undoubtedly, the ultimate basis of almorzar is admordere, 'to bite at.' Diez, 421, contented himself with deriving almuerzo < admorsu, the pp. Ford, OSS 29, derived almorzar < *admorsäre, and spoke vaguely of a possible Ar. influence which may have modified both the prefix and the sibilant, though he gave no similar exx. (It is true that Ar. ع [g] occasionally > Sp. z: cf. almizcle < misk.) The only other ex. of rs > z adduced by Ford is tez < tersu, a dubious etymology if there ever was one, and one that Mr. Ford wisely doubts. Acad. follows Diez and Ford, in deriving the vb. < admorsus. But in 1901, Meyer-Lübke, contesting Ford's theory of Ar. influence, Litbl. XXII, 297, proposed as the etymon of almuerzo *a r m ö r d ŷ u, < *admordiu < admordere, and this is the etymon commonly given today. Meyer-Lübke called attention to the fact that in OLat d before a labial > r: cf. arferre for afferre (i.e., adferre), and thence, by dissimilation, *armordiu > almuerzo. This theory was restated in Grundr. I, 486, 67, accepted by Hanssen, 280, MP Cid, Castro, RFE II (1915), 181, Fouché, RH LXXVII (1929), 118, and *admordium is the etymon given in REW 182 (almorzar is lacking in the index). One may note in passing the forms armoçar, armuezo, in Richardson. (Garofa de Diego 208, *emordium, explains certain dial. forms, and also gives us the analogy of prandium, which is helpful in explaining the Lat. suffix. I do not agree, however, that *emordium, with "implantation" of al-, is the basis of the Cast. form. To lighten the tone of this discussion, one may further call attention to Monlau, who mentions un etimologista português who derives Pg. almorço < Germ. morgenessen [!].) The only point that remains is the phonological problem of cons. + d₁ > cons. + z (dz). Though the evidence is scanty, my own opinion is that this is the regular development. Ford, op. cit., 43-46, discusses, as the only exx. available, verguença < verecundia, verça < *virdia, orzuelo < hordeolu, and garça < *cardëu (?), and then proceeds to throw them out: the mooted verguença (q.v.) probably has an analogous abstract

ending, verça is probably a loan, the etymology of garça is uncertain, and orzuelo is such a rare word that it is difficult to establish the conventional orthography. Ford then reaches the conclusion that "it seems tolerably certain that cons. + dy did not yield Old Spanish ç, Modern Spanish z, as a direct phonetic development." With this conclusion I am in perfect accord. But MP Gr, 53,3, states that cons. + DY > cons. + ç (ts). He gives no new exx., though he writes orçuelo. He is, however, troubled by gaudiu > gozo, since he admits that this spelling is commoner than goço in OSp. See further MP Cid Gr, 182,14, and 247,20. Hanssen, 143, states that cons. + di > cons. + z (dz): hordeolu > orzuelo, *virdiariu > berzero, gaudiu > gozo (but not verecundia > verguenza!), and adds: "En todos estos casos, el antiguo castellano escribe z." (His vb. forms, e.g., Leon. audyo > ozo, I should not consider in the establishment of a phonetic law, though they would help my own case!) Fouché, loc. cit., agrees with Hanssen: *armordiu > almuerzo, like *virdiariu > berzero. (His query about the etymon ["d'où vient-il?"] has already been answered.) To summarize, if cons. + voiceless tj > cons. + ç (ts) - e.g., -antia > -ança, then cons. + voiced dj > cons. + z (dz): *armordiu > almuerzo, hordeolu > orzuelo, *virdiariu > berzero, and gaudiu > gozo (q.v.). There remains the lingering doubt as to the commoner spellings of orzuelo and berzero, but the theories of Ford and Hanssen are more enlightening than Menéndez Pidal's, and, until further exx. of these words are gathered, I conclude that the spellings with -z- in the OSp forms are normal.] to eat, have a bite to eat 146.15/29 (= âlmorzar: nos venimos aca a.); aparejar de a. to fix something to eat 147.14

angel m. [Ultimately < angĕlu, REW 458a (why anjel?). MP Gr, 26,3, 29,2, and p. 115, n., considers the loss of -o to be due to proclitic use. I rather doubt, however, that Lat. final -u was lost in Sp. in any circumstance. Hanssen's explanation, 66 and 166, that the Sp. form is derived < the voc. angele is more in accord with the principles of Sp. phonology. In either case, the word would be semi-learned. But I suspect that angel < OF angele.] angel 7.11/45.11/59.24/91.4/125.23/133.4/5/144.22/158.5

apretar (1e) tr. [< a p p ɛ o t ɔ r ā r e, REW 540. Apparently, -kt'r- > -tr- regularly: *lectorile > letril, *pectorina > petri-

na, pectorāle > petral: MP Gr, 61,4; Hanssen, 131. Boggs, HR V (1937), 268, speaking of the degrees of audibility in three-consonant groups, observes that the group low-low-high drops its first member. For the metathesis, MP Cid Gr, 191,24, sees an intermediate stage in Cast. represented by Pg.-Ast. apertar. I should add that the final form may conceivably have been fixed by association with the derivatives of premĕre: e.g., apremiar. The * should be removed from Ford and MP Gr, 67,2: the etymon is found in Harper, though with a single ex.] to tighten 38.1; hold, grasp 148.14; a. consigo to cuddle up to one 25.27

arueja [< e r v ĭ l ĭ a, REW 2909. MP Gr, 18,3, believes that e- > a- "por la influencia de una r vecina," and adduces such exx. as verrĕre > barrer, versura > basura, etc. Though exx. in Fr. are common (mercātu > marché, *ferōtĭcu > farouche, pĭgrĭtĭa > pa-resse, etc.), the cases in Sp. are rather sporadic, and most of them, I suspect, may be explained by analogy: thus, barrer by bar-ro, basura by bajo. Association with haua would account for arue-ja. Of interest is the fact that Thomas, N Ess 162, calls attention to Béarn. arbelha-fave. The a- appears quite commonly in Fr. and It. dialects: FEW III, 243; Parodi, Rom. XXVII (1898), 237. See further my article on balança.] carob bean (pl.) 19.15

asperezar intr. [< aspereza: Cej. II, 99, gives asperecer as the inf., but new verbal formations are usually of the first conjugation; furthermore, the syntax of the passage clearly calls for the subjunct. (No ay tan manso animal, que con amor ... de sus hijos no asperece.) Does anyone have other exx. of this word?] to grow fierce 145.7

aspero adj. [< a s p ě r u, learned: REW 708 errs in not so indicating the word.] bitter, harsh, cruel 45.18/31/123.4/14/124.5/126.29/161.20

atar tr. [< a p t ā r e, REW 563] to bind, tie, tie up 10.29/84.21/150.10/151.11; estar -ado to be tied 58.6

atemorizar tr. [< a + temor] to terrify 86.14

atesorar tr. [< a + tesoro] to hoard (gentileza) 91.15

B-E

badajada [< badajo < *b a t a c l u < batŭěre]: lit., stroke of a clapper: ya se desconciertan sus -s now he's talking nonsense 71.32. Mabbe translates rather picturesquely 'now his bells beginne to jangle.' Badajada also means 'idle talk': v. further García de Diego, RFE XVIII (1931), 8.

brasa [< Germanic *b r a s a] glowing coal (pl. and fig.: por medio de tus -s passe, in Fleberio's invocation to Love; cf. Aut., 'passión vehemente del ánimo, que ocasiona inquietud, desazón y molestia grave,' and also Dic. Hist., 3: 'Dícese de las pasiones fogosas.') 172.11

bujellada [? Cej. 75, < "las bujetas ó pomos en que iban," is hardly possible, since the regular spelling of his etymon at this time was with -x-, whereas bujellada seems never to have had such a spelling: v. infra. One encounters similar difficulties in Roque Barcia's derivation < bujo, 'boxwood,' so called, he states, from the reddish color.] a cosmetic (This is the sole ex. given in Dic. Hist., where it is spelled with a single -l-. I have no other ex. until 1599, in Minsheu: 'painting for womens faces.' In the 1617 ed. one finds bugelládas, 'a kinde of lye to wash the face, also painting for womens faces, a red paint.' Also in Baretto (1794): bugellada: 'a fine lye used by women to wash their heads; any daub used by them.' A final melancholy note may be added here by Baretto's translation of bugellador: 'one that makes or sells slops for women's faces.') (pl.) 18.25

carilla [I am unable to find this word in the dictionaries, but I suspect that it is one of the numerous Romance derivatives of carŷa, 'nut' (TLL: cf. L. & S. κάρυον, 'nut, walnut'): REW 1726, K. 1938a. Some such meaning as 'lotion, essence' is clearly called for. A dim. *c a r(ŷ)ě l l a would account for the Sp. form.] nut-oil (pl.) 19.15

cerda [?] hair (-s de asno) 11.1

dello [< de + ello] of it, etc. 36.28/40.17/48.16/49.24/25/55.5/69.13/128.12. In 109.13 (Quien la miel trata, siempre se le pega dello.), F.-D. errs in emending to della. The neut. form refers rather to the handling than to the honey itself. For similar exx., v. Keniston, SCP 6.42, d.

denostar (ue) tr. [Commonly derived < d e h ō n ō s t ā r e, though the phonology needs clarification.] to insult, revile, abuse 9.8/114.14/126.23; in 114.25 (desnudas & desnostadas), the des- in our word obviously comes from desnudas, and I accept F.-D.'s emendation.

derrocar tr. [< de + roca, < ?] to tear down (la casa) 38.21; remove (bonetes: the only ex. of this sense in Cuervo, f) 116.12

emplumar tr. [< en + pluma, < p l ū m a, learned] to cover with honey and feathers, "honey and feather" (Cf. Cov.: 'A las alcahuetas acostumbran desnudarlas del medio cuerpo arriba, y vntadas con miel, las siembran de plumas menudas, que parecen monstruos, medio aues, medio mugeres.') 36.32 (I accept F.-D.'s emendation of emplmenla.)/43.33; despues de tres vezes -ada after she has thrice been honeyed and feathered 36.29

escalera [< s c a l a r ĩ a] stairway 21.26/89.24; ladder 158c/158.10. In 87.27 and 88.1 the meaning scaffold seems called for, and Mabbe so translates. I have not noted this meaning in the dictionaries consulted, but cf. Domínguez (end): 'Cualquier objeto análogo á la figura de una escalera, por estension metafórica.'

escropuloso adj. [< s c r ū p ũ l ō s u, semi-learned, with dissimilation. F.-D. emends to escru-, but ponderous polysyllabics of this type readily undergo alteration in popular speech.] 126.30: the meaning is apparently 'harsh, cruel' (asperos & -s desuio): cf. the orig. Lat. sense, 'rough, rugged,' < scrupulus, 'stone.' I have not noted this meaning in the dictionaries.

esgamoche [A peculiar by-form of escamocho, postvb. of escamochar, < ? Cej., 255, has excamochos. I am unable to locate further exx. of our form.] fragment, scrap (pl.) 94.7

